Porlier, Mina, Lacy, and Vidal. Mina had succeeded in making his escape, but the others were taken and executed, their friends at the same time being put to the torture or thrown into prison. But these severities had no effect in repressing the discontent of the army ; for the cause which immediately produced it was not removed,—the arrears due to the troops still remained unpaid. The money which might have been employed for this purpose was foolishly lavished in fitting out an expedition to destroy the liberties of the revolted South Americans : by a singular destiny it became the instrument of the overthrow of despotism at home, and the restoration of Spanish freedom. The troops which were to embark in the autumn of 1819, were indis posed to the American service ; and the officers, favourable to the constitution of the Cortes, took advantage of this state of feeling to effect their own purposes. Whole regiments had determined not to embark; and the commander himself, O’Donnel, count del Abisbal, was in the secret. But he basely betrayed the cause, and had the principal conspirators arrested in front of the troops. For this devotion to despotism he was rewarded by the court party by being removed from the command of the expedition. Such un grateful conduct towards a man who had forfeited his ho nour to save them, could not fail to bring the *Serviles,* as they were designated, into general contempt. A favour able opportunity soon occurred for the liberals carrying into execution the same plan which had failed through the perfidy of O’Donnel. The yellow fever having made its appearance at Cadiz, the safety of the troops which were there assembled demanded that they should be removed to some distance, thus leaving the members of the secret societies and other patriots at liberty to prosecute their schemes without fear of violent interruption. The embarkation of the troops had been fixed for January 1820 ; but on the first of that month, Riego, who had been placed at the head of the insurrection, gained over several battalions, and proclaimed the constitution of 1812. He arrested Calderon, the successor of O’Donnel ; and finally joining Quiroga, a liberated patriot, and at the time in command of some troops, the combined force, amounting to 5000 men, marched on La Caracea, which was occupied. They had previously taken possession of La Isla. But still the coun try showed no disposition to second this bold movement of the army. In vain Riego led a flying column through the provinces, proclaiming the constitution, and expecting sup port from the inhabitants ; few or none joined him. But several fortunate circumstances which occurred at this time materially contributed to the success of the insurrection. Mina, who had been obliged to fly to France, entered the Spanish territory of Navarre on the 25th of February, and a numerous band immediately surrounded his standard. Risings simultaneously took place in different quarters in favour of the constitution, which was publicly proclaimed in Galicia, Saragossa, Valencia, Murcia, Granada, and many other places. General Freyer, who had been appointed to the command of the troops in Seville, was himself obliged to publish the constitution in that city.

These insurrections could not fail to appal the weak, ignorant, and unpopular party which surrounded the throne. Ferdinand himself saw no general of sufficient ability or loyalty to be trusted with the command of a large army, which could soon have been concentrated, for there still existed fidelity among a sufficient number of the troops. It was however an expiring feeling, which could only have been reanimated by a great leader, but which, in the pre sent destitution of the country, a mere breath might ex­tinguish. And it was extinguished. Ferdinand was abandoned by his troops. Even O’Donnel, who had acted the part of traitor to the liberal cause, became one of its principal supporters. At Ocana he proclaimed the constitution ; an event which produced a great sensation in Madrid. The

royal palace was surrounded by a crowd, who called on Ferdinand to accept the constitution, and he now found that no alternative was left to his choice. The humbled monarch appeared at the balcony, holding a copy of the constitution in his hand, as a pledge of his readiness to swear to its observance. This occurred early in March 1820. To give efficacy and legality to the restoration of the constitution, it was necessary that the Cortes should be convoked, and the oath of the king to uphold the new order of things taken in their presence. The Cortes assembled on the 9th of July, and all the formalities were regularly observed. Mean while the constitutional system had been put into complete operation. During its proclamation at Cadiz, a bloody and disgraceful transaction took place ; some of the royal troops present wantonly fired on the unarmed multitude, and about 500 were killed or wounded. The inquisition was abolished, as inconsistent with it, the state-prisoners were liberated, and new ministers were appointed. In place of the Coun­cil of Castille, and that of the Indies, a supreme judicial tribunal, with appropriate subordinate courts, was established ; national guards were organized in the provinces, and the municipal authorities were made to conform to the consti tution.

The meeting of the Cortes of 9th July, and their subsequent proceedings, mark the establishment of a new order of things, destined however to be of short duration. This assembly acted with extreme moderation, the measures of retaliation being infinitely less severe than those which followed the king’s triumph over the constitution. The members strove to temper the violence of the liberals, and endeavoured to restore the *afrancesados* (those who took the oath to support the French dynasty) to their rights, to counteract the machinations of the serviles, and to heal the wounds of the country. But some of their proceedings were characterized by less judgment and humanity. The suppression of many of the convents and of the *majorates,* the banishment of the nonjuring clergy, and some other of their measures, excited discontents. Various parts of the country became disgraced by popular excesses, while on the frontiers of Portugal the royalist party formed a junta for restoring the privileges of the crown and the church. Conspiracy and openly avowed disaffection to the new order of things spread so widely, that when the second session of the Cortes opened in April 1821, the country was declared to be in a state of danger. The command of the army having been intrusted to Morillo, quiet was in some measure restored ; but still it was found necessary to summon an extraordinary meeting of the Cortes in September. Spanish affairs in America had now assumed their gloomiest aspect; and the government wished to compromise the matter by acknowledging America as a kingdom independent of Spain, but united with her under a common sovereign, Ferdinand VII. Such an absurd proposal was rejected with scorn. The absolutists, although beaten everywhere by the troops of the government, could not be entirely suppressed ; and even the adherents of the constitution began to complain of the weaknesses and mistakes of the ministry. The Cortes requested the king to appoint abler men ; and to this he reluctantly yielded in 1822. Notwithstanding the errors of the Cortes, considering that the king was with them, and that his brother Carlos, although approving of the conduct of the absolutists, had not ventured to join them, it is probable that the struggles, after continuing for a few years, might have ended in a compromise, had not the whole power of France been thrown into the scale of the serviles.

The events which immediately preceded Ferdinand’s restoration to absolute power, and the complete annulment of all the acts of the Cortes, were so various and compli cated, that, if fully detailed, they would of themselves more than occupy all the space within the limits to which this